Pam
Africa
Labor prob.

Anti-slavery etc.

Portuguese Slavery.

Britain's Responsibility.

"From what I have been able to gather, all the 'serviçaes' I have now seen were bought in the province of Angola; their original contract was a sham, and the renewed contracts were a farce." *

MR. VICE-CONSUL SMALLBONES.

———:o:o:———

Great Britain has undertaken by a secret Article in the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of Alliance "to defend and protect all conquests or Colonies belonging to the Crown of Portugal against all his enemies, as well future as present."

———:o:o:———

"I venture to think it would be a mistaken kindness to leave the Portuguese under any delusion on one point. There are some things which no British Government, however powerful otherwise, can undertake to perform, First and foremost amongst those things is the use of the warlike strength of the British Empire to maintain a slave State. In spite of the long-standing friendship between the two countries, in spite of historical associations which are endeared to all Englishmen, and in spite of the apparently unequivocal nature of treaty engagements, it would, I feel assured, be quite impossible, should the African possessions of Portugal be seriously menaced, for British arms to be employed in order to retain them under the uncontrolled possesion of Portugal, so long as slavery is permitted." †

RT. HON. THE EARL OF CROMER.

———:o:o:———

Issued by

The Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society,

Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, London, S.W.

* Code 7279, Africa No. 1, 1914.

† Dawn in Darkest Africa (Smith, Elder).

ΚΤΗΜΑ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΗΣ
ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗ

PORTUGUESE SLAVERY.

Britain's Responsibility.

May, 1914.

To the Rt. Hon. Sir EDWARD GREY, BART., K.G., M.P.,

H.M. Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

SIR,

On behalf of the ANTI-SLAVERY AND ABORIGINES PROTECTION SOCIETY, we beg to submit to you certain considerations with reference to labour conditions on the plantations of Portuguese West Africa.

The Committee of the Society desire to place on record their high appreciation of the care with which His Majesty's Consular Officials have examined local conditions. The Committee has also observed with deep satisfaction the evidence that the Portuguese Government appear at last to realize the gravity of the position and the growth of public concern, not only in Great Britain, but in Germany, France, Italy, Holland, Switzerland and other countries signatory to the Berlin and Brussels Anti-Slavery Treaties.

A British engagement.

The proposed Consular appointments and activities, accepted by the Portuguese Government, whereby His Majesty's Government hope ultimately to assist Portugal in securing a free labour supply, will, we feel sure, meet with due appreciation from all those interested in this question, and the Society looks forward with high hopes to the day when it may be possible for His Majesty's Government "through the medium of their Consular officers to assure labourers at the recruiting stations that they can safely contract for service on the plantations." When that time arrives we trust it may be possible for the Society also to render some assistance to the Portuguese in obtaining a free labour supply for the plantations.

Slavery Confirmed.

We feel sure it will not have escaped the notice of His Majesty's Government that the Consular reports confirm in almost every particular the unofficial information which for years the Society and private individuals have been forwarding to the British Foreign Office. Dealing with the cardinal question of the means by which the labourers were originally obtained, Mr. Vice-Consul Smallbones says :—

> "From what I have been able to gather, all the *serviçaes* I have now seen were bought in the province of Angola; their original contract was a sham, and the renewed contracts were a farce."

The Society is satisfied with this verdict, which, without the addition of a single word, has been the Society's case for ten years. Behind the words "all the *serviçaes* I have now seen were *bought* in the province of Angola," one can picture all the horrors of the past thirty years of slave traffic, to which so many travellers have borne unshaken testimony.

But this official confirmation of the Society's case imposes, we submit, upon civilization, and particularly the Powers signatory to the Berlin and Brussels Acts, the immediate duty of insisting that emancipation of the *serviçaes* should be undertaken at a "possible and practicable" * rate.

The Appeal for Liberty.

His Majesty's Government are aware that the Society has never wavered in contending that the *serviçaes* have an unquenchable desire for liberty and homeland. This contention has been met with the old time slave-owning argument in regard to good food and housing, oblivious of the fact that nothing can compensate for the loss of human liberty. The White Book now published contains despatches from the Consuls which confirm the Society's contention in language so convincing in its moderation, so pathetic in its appeal, that we beg to emphasize it by bringing certain passages to your notice.

Mr. Consul Smallbones says of a paralytic woman :—

> "It was pathetic to see a woman who had been paralysed for six years being carried into the room to ask to be sent home. Her physical wants will hardly be as well attended to in Angola as on this plantation. The administrator tried in vain to persuade her, obviously from purely philanthropic motives, to stay on."

---

* Lord Morley.

In the same despatch Mr. Smallbones describes a visit to Agua Izé and the request of 80 *serviçaes* to be allowed to leave the plantation :—

> "They were then all lined up, and the manager and his staff worked hard to get some volunteers to stay on. All their efforts were in vain. Even a woman who had had both her legs amputated below the knee insisted on wobbling on her hideous stumps to her native country, and a man whom also an accident on the plantation had deprived of both legs faced cheerfully the perils of the journey clinging to the back of a sturdy friend."

Mr. Vice-Consul Bernays during his visit to Principe was impressed with this feature no less than have Mr. Smallbones and every private investigator has been.

> "I witnessed," he says, "a distressing sight at Principe which was a result of this change in the law. It made me feel that perhaps there is more truth than is generally supposed in the contention of missionaries and others that the *serviçal* longs for his home in Angola with as intense a 'Heimweh' as any man can feel for his country, and that in reality they nearly all wish to return. On the 16th June between 30 and 40 *serviçaes* were sent down from the roça Nova Estrella (and one other roça the name of which I do not know) to the curador at Principe for shipment home, as the planter did not wish to keep them under the terms of the law of the 8th February. Probably because the dispute with the planters was still pending, the curador placed these men to work for the Public Works Department instead of sending them home. On the 3rd inst., however, the decree of the previous day was received on the Island, and in accordance with its terms the men were sent back to the roça to complete their service. Their disappointment on being returned to the plantation was only too evident, and in some cases it seemed quite uncontrollable. Finally, a number of policemen were sent who put a stop to further lamentations by marching the men off to the plantation."

The loathing with which the *serviçaes* regard their bondage and the intensity of their desire for a return to their homes is most strikingly told in despatch No. 20. The curador or protector having asked 150 of them whether they were willing to stay for another contract, they unanimously begged for liberty, and upon being asked how they would live on the mainland—

> "seemed confident that they would be able to earn a living in their old homes, and a few old men said that, if they could not live where they had been born, they could at least die there."

The Rate of Repatriation.

The third factor in the question of liberation and repatriation is the apparent willingness of the Portuguese Government in Lisbon to liberate the *serviçaes* up to the carrying capacity of available shipping. In conversation with Mr. Carnegie on November 15th, 1913, Senhor Affonso Costa admitted the "iniquitous system" by which labour had been obtained for the Portuguese plantations ; he admitted also that repatriation "was not proceeding as fast as it should," but he said this "arose *solely* from the insufficiency of vessels to convey the labourers to the mainland." If this sentence means anything at all, it means that the Portuguese Government is deterred from a more rapid repatriation *solely* by an insufficiency of carrying capacity, and that if it can be shown that the capacity is greater than that which they are now utilising, they are prepared to expedite the work of liberation. We propose to demonstrate this, and would urge His Majesty's Government to invite the Portuguese Government to adopt this standard without delay.

Taking the Portuguese shipping first, His Majesty's Government will remember that on August 28th last the Society secured and submitted the sailing table of the Empreza Naçional Steamship Co., and that this table showed that there were four Portuguese sailings per month from San Thomé to the mainland. We have obtained from Lisbon the registered carrying capacity of the ships, which is as follows:—

Moçambique	800
Portugal	500
Zaire	300
Melange	300
Casengo	300
Ambaca	300

A Legitimate Demand.

The average carrying capacity of this fleet is therefore 400 labourers per vessel, and with four calls each month provides a possible maximum repatriation of 1,600 labourers, or allowing for varying circumstances, a minimum of 1,100 each month, or 13,200 a year. These figures are confirmed in despatch No. 63 of the White Book. In the House of Commons on

the 30th March last, Mr. Acland informed the Hon. J. C. Lyttelton that during the year 1913, 2,071 *serviçaes* were liberated and repatriated—a total, we are glad to recognise, higher than that obtained during any previous year. If to this figure is added 1,000 Moçambique labourers repatriated, the total number carried is a little over 3,000, as compared with a carrying capacity of from 13,000 to 15,000. But this does not exhaust the shipping available for this purpose; two ships, one British and one German, clear the San Thomé ports for Angola every month, and these together are capable of carrying not less than 500 per month, thus providing for a further acceleration of 6,000 repatriations. These figures, we submit, demonstrate the inaccuracy of the statement made to His Majesty's Minister in Lisbon by Senhor Affonso Costa, for they show that whilst slightly over 3,000 labourers were carried back to the mainland in 1913, it was possible to have repatriated, in round figures, 20,000.

One of the most valuable disclosures of the White Book is made in the Memorandum No. 57, signed by the Consul-General Mr. Hall Hall. In the second paragraph is confirmed the much-disputed contention of the Society that the labourers remember to this day the names of their original homes, and that, given the assistance to which they are entitled, they would have little difficulty in reaching their tribes and original districts. Mr. Hall Hall says:—

> "They all stated without hesitation that they wished to go back to their homes, with the exception of one woman who could not make up her mind for some time but eventually elected to go to another woman's home; nor did any of them, even the oldest, have any doubt where their homes were, though owing to differences in pronunciation the clerk had difficulty in ascertaining where some of them wanted to go. On the completion of this list, the curador had them all in again one by one and made some alterations in the entries of their destinations. Twenty-one were to go by ship to Ambriz, about 50 miles north of Loanda; one to Malanje, the terminus of the Loanda railway and the rest either to N'Dala Tondo on the same line, or to Dondo, the terminus of a southerly branch of it. They were quite content to be sent to these various points, from which, it appeared, they could safely reach their respective homes."

In view of these facts, we appeal to His Majesty's Government to accept as a *desirable standard of repatriation the carrying capacity of the available shipping, and to urge this standard upon the Portuguese Government.* Our Committee has no hesitation in pressing this suggestion alike on the grounds of equity and policy. The adoption of this standard by the Portuguese Government could not fail to have a most favourable effect upon British public opinion, whilst it is incontestable that the more rapid return to the mainland of labourers well-clothed and with considerable property in their possession, and advertising the good treatment their employers claim to have accorded them, ought to have a marked effect in increasing the flow of free labour back to the plantations.

MISSIONARY RESEARCH LIBRARY

II.

Renewal of Contracts.

In this Memorandum we beg, on behalf of this Society, to draw your attention to the conditions under which labourers are re-contracted upon the Portuguese plantations. All the information in the possession of the Society goes to prove the accuracy of Mr. Smallbone's statement that the re-contractions are nothing but "a farce"; whilst, at the same time, other serious irregularities are permitted. We respectfully ask that the proposals at the conclusion of this Memorandum, whereby, we think, many of the abuses would be obviated, may be submitted to His Majesty's Consular Officers for their consideration and report.

It is quite clear that even at the expiry of their "sham" contracts, the unfortunate *serviçaes* are often kept waiting for months before being presented to the Curador for repatriation or re-contraction. In despatch No. 20, Mr. Smallbones says, writing on March 23rd, 1913 :—

> "The *serviçaes* who were presented had all been under contracts, renewed for one year, which had expired on the 26th June, 1912."

Although the plantation of which Mr. Smallbones was writing was only seven miles from the city, yet the Curador did not visit it until March 15th, 1913 ; thus, the natives were kept in bondage nine months beyond the date of the termination of their "sham" contracts, and when asked as to their willingness to enter into a new "contract" 304 out of 306 refused.

Fraud and Force again.

It is equally clear that, as His Majesty's Consuls point out, fraud and force are used to compel the *serviçaes* to re-contract. It would indeed be hard to find a more regrettable proceeding than that which took place at Agua Izé : on the 5th April last year 389 *serviçaes* were presented for re-contraction, when "nothing would shake their determination to leave," and the Curador decided that they should be repatriated in batches of 100. But, says Mr. Smallbones :—

> "During lunch-time apparently 200 of those *serviçaes* fled from the plantation to the city, under the impression that they could be repatriated at once, or at least that they could wait in the

town for their turn. The authorities are, however, unable to feed and lodge all the *serviçaes* who are waiting to be repatriated. A message was sent by the Curador to the authorities in the town, and the next day these *serviçaes* were brought back to Agua Ize by a steamer, escorted by thirteen soldiers with fixed bayonets, and a white sergeant. I understand they had offered no resistance.

"After those *serviçaes* had fled on the 5th some came and asked to be re-contracted. All who had stayed were submitted by the manager, his wife, and the staff to every kind of gentle persuasion they could think of. They were offered two weeks' holiday at full pay and a considerable sum as a dash. Eighty-seven re-contracted that day. Some returned when they were half-way to the town and were overtaken by a thunderstorm; the military escort probably did the rest. I understand that all but twenty-nine of the 389 have by now re-contracted."

The Society submits that this incident should be the subject of a full enquiry by the Portuguese Government, and that any contract forced upon these unfortunate natives, as in this case against their will, should be declared invalid.

Conditions upon the island of Principe appear to be equally bad. Mr. Vice-Consul Bernays, writing on October 25th last, says :—

"The case witnessed by me in Principe and reported to you in my despatch of the 14th August, appears to be typical of the attitude of the Portuguese towards this question, and until proper arrangements are made for the prompt repatriation of all labourers whose contracts have expired, the detention of boys on one plea or another will, I fear, continue."

In connection with this forcible or fraudulent re-contraction, the Committee desires to place on record its great appreciation of the following sentence in the Secretary of State's despatch, dated November 25th last, to His Excellency the British Minister at Lisbon :—

"Another feature of the situation now reported is the re-contracting of labourers on a large scale. From the previous despatches from His Majesty's Consular Officers on this subject it seems certain that the re-contracting of men in large numbers can only be effected by some form of compulsion, and I consider the renewal of this practice a disquieting feature."

In view of the foregoing, the Society begs to submit that, in the interests of a flow of free labour, no less than for the sake

of its own reputation, the Portuguese Government should without delay take vigorous action to terminate the abuses connected with "re-contracting."

A Suggestion.

We understand that all the labourers recruited from Moçambique are sent to the Curador's office in the city at the expiration of their contracts, either for repatriation or re-contraction, and, indeed, in despatch No. 20, Mr. Vice-Consul Smallbones declares that this is "invariably" so. The object of carrying out the re-contracting of the Angolans on the plantations is naïvely admitted by the Curador in the same despatch, namely, that the natives "will be less likely to express a wish to be repatriated than they would be at the Curador's office,"—or—put in plainer language—re-contracting at the Curador's office would to the native mind enhance the chance of liberty, which they so passionately desire.

The Portuguese Government professes to hold one consideration supreme in every transaction, viz., that the *serviçal* shall be a free agent in deciding his future. There would appear to be no reason why a different course should followed in the case of the Angolans than in that of the Moçambique labourers; and, therefore, they also should be presented to the Curador *in the city* at the expiration of their so-called "contracts."

This course, we would point out, offers several advantages. In the first place, *serviçaes* presented immediately on the expiration of the "contracts" would probably be leaving the plantations in smaller batches, and thus less dislocation would be caused to the planters. It would obviate the necessity of the Curador spending many days in the year travelling long distances over well-nigh impassable roads, and, as the *serviçaes* would then come to the city frequently and in smaller batches, there would be less difficulty in finding accommodation for them on the ships, which sail to Angola *once—often twice—a week.*

Finally, in those cases where *serviçaes* re-contracted, they could easily return to the plantation, whilst those anxious for repatriation could stay in the city, which is the port of embarcation, and thus avoid all the labour attendant upon bringing them down to the boats.

This course would, moreover, give an opportunity to any *serviçal* who wished it, to re-contract for any other planter whose reputation proved attractive. There is, we believe, nothing in law which sanctions the present custom that "re-contractions" should only be renewed between the original parties.

It would be of vital importance to the satisfactory working of this suggestion that the public notification of "contracts" which have expired each month should be made as suggested by Mr. Smallbones in despatch No. 44. That there would be no difficulty upon this point is shown by the following sentence from a letter addressed to Mr. Smallbones by the Governor of San Thomé on September 13th last :—

> "In the curadoria of the province sufficient documents and data exist to enable the Curator-General to know when the contracts of the labourers on the different plantations terminate."

We believe that if these suggestions in regard to repatriation and re-contraction could be adopted, many of the more scandalous incidents connected therewith would disappear.

III

A New Danger.

This Society has always held one feature to be of paramount importance in considering Portuguese labour conditions, namely, the means by which the labourers are obtained who are now being shipped to the islands. It has been stated upon the authority of the Foreign Office and supported by the Earl of Cromer that forced labour for private profit demanded under the cover of taxation is not taxation but slavery, a definition which our Committee has gladly welcomed. Both Portuguese legislation and recent information as to accepted present practices lead us to fear that it is in this direction the chief danger of the future lies.

* Cd. 6322 Enc. : in No. 46, page 61.

The Decree of May 13th, 1911,* now being enforced does, in the opinion of our Committee, permit compulsory labour in the interest of private profit.

Article 1 provides that :—

> " Every native of a Portuguese colony is under the moral and legal obligation to procure for himself and acquire by work the necessary means of subsistence and for the betterment of his proper social condition.
>
> He has full liberty to choose for himself the way in which he wishes to fulfil that obligation ; but if he does not fulfil it in any way the public authorities may force him to do so."

Article 35 of the Decree with its sub-sections lays down the conditions under which forced labourers may be used for private ends. The " sole " section reads :—

Forced Labour for Private Profit.

> " Applications for private service may only be made by proprietors or tenants of land intended for cultivation, of an area of not less than 10 hectares, by manufacturers or established merchants, and by their managers and administrators."

Articles 36 again clearly contemplates the supply of forced labour for private enterprise :—

> " The following may not apply for forced *serviçaes* :—
>
> 1. Individuals who have been convicted by the ordinary tribunals, or by the Curators of *serviçaes* and colonists, as not having fulfilled their obligation as against *serviçaes*,
> 2. Those who are doing penal servitude.
> 3. Foreigners in service of their Governments.
> 4. Foreigners not domiciled in Portuguese territory."

To avoid burdening His Majesty's Government with quotations, we beg to point out that a perusal of Articles 35 to 58 leaves no doubt that the Republican Government has definitely embarked upon a policy of supplying private interests with, if necessary, forced labour. We readily admit that such labour can only be demanded under certain restrictions and conditions ; but experience has shown us that when once the principle is admitted the conditions under which labour can be demanded are created without very much difficulty.

Senhor José de Almada, the private Secretary to the late Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs, admits the accuracy of this interpretation in the following sentence :—

> "Compulsory labour consists in the obligation of performing certain tasks, such as repairing and building roads, transporting goods in the Custom-house, or agricultural work in private properties."

The Earl of Cromer, dealing with this passage, while for his part prepared reluctantly to admit the necessity of compulsory labour in certain cases, and while not stigmatizing as slavery such labour, when, under all possible safeguards against the occurrence of abuses, it is employed for recognised and indispensable purposes of public utility, says :—

> "On the other hand, we regard the system when employed for private profit as wholly unjustifitable and as synonymous with slavery. M. de Almada may rest assured that this view of the case is not entertained merely by those whose opinions are tainted by that bias and excessive humanitarian enthusiasm of which he deprecates the display. It is shared by others whose position and training would naturally lead them to subordinate their emotions to their reason, and whose wish it is to judge of the matter impartially."

The Society has always held that not only in theory does this form of forced labour constitute slavery, but in practice it is accompanied by all the detestable features of slave-hunting, and evidence of this condition is not lacking to-day from Portuguese West Africa.

The Governor-General of Angola in September last, authorised the "recruitment" of labourers in the following terms:—

Present Conditions.

> "The agent-general for recruitment of native labourers for the province of San Thomé and Principe, his agents and assistants in the district of the Congo are authorised to recruit not more than 1,500 labourers in the present year."

We leave for the time the insurrection of San Salvador and the arbitrary arrest of Mr. Bowskill because we anticipate a consular report covering these incidents; but we call the attention of His Majesty's Government to the inevitable results of this authorisation.

On October 13th the "authorised" agent reached San Salvador, and "Senhor Paulo opened proceedings by saying that he had sent for them (the Chiefs) because the Governor required workers to go to San Thomé and Principe. He introduced Senhor Godinho as an official sent from the Governor for the purpose of getting workers. He wanted 1,500 to go in parties."

After making every effort by intimidation to force the chiefs to bring the labourers, we are informed that the Portuguese official said:—

> "All right. If you wish to be no longer chiefs, be it so; you have been listening to the advice given by teachers and other fools, and I am going to send to the Governor and say you have rebelled. As you will not do what you are ordered to do, he may send men to catch workers by force."

We also beg to draw the attention of His Majesty's Government to the letter of the Rev. Geo. Thomas showing the conditions under which the labourers are being obtained:—

> "The company which went to Cabinda were under the charge of Senhor Paul Moreira armed with a rifle, and two policemen also armed. Dr. Gamblo, in conversation with Senhor Paul, understood him to say that the men had to go whether they wanted to or not. He was also informed by the treasurer here that the resident and Senhor Paul are to receive 1½ fr. (about) each for every man's passport, and the Secretary (Senhor Paul) 2½ fr. per man brought from

> the town, as well as extra for taking them to Noki. This is the first instalment out of 300 they are hoping to recruit, but the people are getting disturbed and anxious, and are writing to us for guidance and assurances. We are careful to say nothing which will bring them or ourselves in conflict with the authorities, as we are hoping that the British representative at Loanda will carefully watch against any infringement of the safeguards set by the Berlin Treaty. They have made reforms in San Thomé and elsewhere in response to the agitation at home.

The Committee of the Society holds that it these practices obtain within the radius of a mission station, there is every probability that further in the interior the efforts to force a labour supply lead to even graver abuses. For these reasons we beg to urge the publication, at as early a date as possible, of any consular reports in the possession of His Majesty's Government which deal with the methods adopted at the present time to secure a labour supply for private interests.

British Subjects Enslaved.

Another matter to which our Committee attaches considerable importance is the alleged presence of British subjects in the plantations.

The Committee appreciates very fully the efforts made by Mr. Vice Consul Smallbones to ascertain the whereabouts of any British subjects now held in bondage. We also note the offer of the administration of Northern Rhodesia to supply a description of the tribal marks of natives on the Anglo-Portuguese border. We beg to point out that in our opinion an effective and speedy method would be that of attaching to the *personnel* of the consular staff one or two native servants from North West Rhodesia. The African native is extremely observant and quickly recognises any of his countrymen in territories other than his own. We believe that if the Society's suggestion could be adopted, the difficulties which at present confront His Majesty's representatives would be largely removed.

The Repatriation Fund.

In the recent White Book, there is, we regret to observe, very little evidence upon the management of the Repatriation Fund. We do not forget that His Majesty's Government at present is disposed to regard this matter as one of domestic

concern for the Portuguese Government, but the closer the feature is examined the more scandalous its management becomes, and we are not without hope that His Majesty's Government will agree that under given circumstances the shortage in this fund affects vitally the whole question of native labour.

We submit a short statement which we do not think will be challenged in any particular. The planters stated in 1907 that "each repatriated labourer will (under the 1903 law) receive about £18 upon landing in Angola." That this pledge has never been fulfilled is notorious. The Portuguese Government has now issued a Decree by which every labourer landed on the mainland shall receive from the Repatriation Fund a minimum of £10. But owing to the defalcations it is impossible for either sum to be refunded to the labourers. Accepting the minimum basis that 30,000 people are entitled to such refunds, we find that to pay them their minimum of £18 per head promised by the planters would require £540,000, whilst to pay them the recently decreed minimum would require £300,000 ; but we understand that the fund to-day is less than £200,000 !

Our reason for emphasizing this point is that with so serious a shortage in the monies taken from the labourers, it is impossible for the Portuguese planters or the Portuguese Government to discharge their obligations to the labourers.

The Committee earnestly hopes that His Majesty's Government will agree in regarding this matter as a grave one, and that they will draw the attention of the Portuguese Government to this statement.

In the absence of adequate official information upon the Repatriation Fund, we quote certain available figures which will show the magnitude of the fraudulent nature of this fund, and we should appreciate any consular criticism of the figures quoted.

The fund was created by deducting a portion of the wages from the *serviçaes* under the law of 1903. From 1903-1907 this fund was left in the hands of the planters, by

which time it had reached £100,000*. In 1908 it was transferred to the San Thomé Bank, but in the process of transfer nearly £40,000 must have disappeared, for when Messrs. Cadbury and Burtt visited the Bank in October, 1908, they saw the receipt for the transfer of only £62,000. Mr. Vice-Consul Smallbones has since pointed out that "the planters are heavily in arrears with their payments to the Repatriation Fund—some hundreds of contos (100 contos equal about £20,000) are spoken of." But, as we have already said, the complete facts with regard to the shortage have never been published.

There are on the islands not less than 30,000 labourers whose minimum legal wage is, for men 10/-, and for women 7/2 per month, or £6 and £4 6s. per annum respectively. The deductions from these wages have varied from one-half to two-thirds since the law of 1903 became operative. For the purpose of calculation, however, we propose to take the population on the plantations as being half composed of men and half of women, which will give the following as the annual accretion to the fund from the year 1907, four years after the issue of the 1903 Decree, when that fund stood at the admitted total of £100,000 :—

	£
Half wages of 15,000 women paid at the minimum rate of £4 6s. per annum 15,000 × £2 3s.	32,438
Half wages of 15,000 men paid at the minimum wage of £6 per annum 15,000 × £3	45,000
Total annual accretion	£77,438

Upon this basis the gross total of the fund should be :—

	£
Admitted total in December 1907	100,000
Six years accretion 6 × £77,438	464,628
	£564,628

* See Planters Manifesto.

According to these figures, the total deductions from the wages of the *serviçaes* since 1903 should amount to well over £550,000. There have, of course, been certain charges upon this fund. First there are the erroneously termed "bonuses" paid to the labourers, which, however, cannot amount to more than £25,000, for, as Mr. Smallbones has remarked, "these have been incalculably small." It is also possible that by beginning the basis of accretions in 1907 a certain number of labourers had not then been "re-contracted" under the 1903 law; but a further allowance of £25,000 would probably be ample to cover such cases. There would, of course, be management charges, but those ought to be covered by interest on the deposits. Allowing, however, for admitted negligence in respect to investment, and allotting £14,628 for administration of the fund, a sum quite beyond all known requirements, the following figures still show a prodigious defalcation, the more reprehensible when we remember that it represents money deducted from the pittance to which the labourers are by law entitled:— The Defalcation

		£
Gross total		564,628
Deductions made for payment to *serviçaes*	£25,000	
Deductions for contracts unexpired in 1907	25,000	
Deductions for management ...	14,628	
	———	64,628
		£500,000
Total of fund to-day		200,000
Estimated shortage		£300,000

We submit these figures to His Majesty's Government and claim that they do show the need for a public audit of books connected with the Repatriation Fund, and hope the

Portuguese Government will see the importance of insisting upon a complete examination of all the records connected with what is, after all, a trust fund belonging to the labourers.

We have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servants,

Thos. FOWELL BUXTON, *President.*

J. ST. LOE STRACHEY,
Chairman of the Angola Sub-Committee.

E. W. BROOKS, *Treasurer.*

TRAVERS BUXTON, *Secretary.*

JOHN H. HARRIS, *Organising Secretary.*

June 24th, 1914.

To the Rt. Hon. Sir EDWARD GREY, Bart., K.G., M.P.,
H.M. Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs,
Foreign Office, S.W.

SIR,

We are requested by the Committee of the Society to urge upon His Majesty's Government the importance we attach to the question of circulating the White Book on Portuguese Labour in West Africa (Code 7279) to the Powers signatory to the Berlin Act.

We have not overlooked the answer to a question put in the House of Commons, from which it appears that His Majesty's Government does not at present view this proposal with favour, primarily because on a former occasion a White Book on native labour conditions was circulated it elicited very little satisfactory response.

In this case, however, we have good reason to anticipate that the reception of such a document would be entirely different, and even though His Majesty's Government still adhere to the decision not to circulate it to all the Powers signatory to the Berlin Act there are, it appears to us, strong reasons for sending it to certain signatories of that Act.

The boundaries of German South-West Africa march for hundreds of miles with those of Southern Angola, and the recruiting operations of the Portuguese affect materially the administration of German territory.

We are in a position to inform His Majesty's Government that the Italian Government has already taken up this question with the Portuguese Government, thus showing a definite interest in the subject.

The Belgian Government, we beg to remind His Majesty's Government, has taken the initiative in the matter and forwarded reports to the British Foreign Office, a step which would seem to point to the desirability of reciprocating the courtesy.

In view of these facts we beg to suggest to His Majesty's Government that the White Book, Code 7279, may at least be submitted to the German, Italian and Belgian Governments.

We have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servants,

TRAVERS BUXTON,
Secretary.

JOHN H. HARRIS,
Organising Secretary.

EDWARD HUGHES & Co, 12, Well Court, Bow Lane, Cheapside, E.C.

WANTED.

500 Men and Women

to join the

Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society,

and thus

SHARE THE BURDEN OF DEFENDING NATIVE RACES

from

Slavery, Exploitation and Oppression.

Subscriptions of **10**/- per annum may be forwarded to
The Secretary of the Society,

LITERATURE NOW READY.

Portuguese Slavery: Britain's Dilemma, **1/3.**
(Methuen & Co.)

Dawn in Darkest Africa. Popular Edition, **6/-.**
(Smith, Elder & Co.)

Order from the
ANTI-SLAVERY & ABORIGINES PROTECTION SOCIETY,
DENISON HOUSE, VAUXHALL BRIDGE ROAD, LONDON, S.W.